



GETTING AT THE COP PROBLEM

LATERAL ENTRY IMPORTANT

GIVEN the present policies of the Metropolitan Police Department and the policies of the District Building towards the police department, it will be decades before the police here adequately reflect the overwhelming black majority of the city or gain that sensitivity to justice and democracy that a non-police state ought to expect of its law enforcement officers.

Recent promotion examinations, for example, failed to make any dramatic changes in the racial composition of the leadership of the department. And new Chief Jerry Wilson, far from moving the police from less reliance on weapons, has ordered the addition of mace to their arsenal. Wilson's action came in the face of reports by U. S. Surgeon General, the Federal Food and Drug Administration, The Army and the District Health Department, that mace has harmful aftereffects. (Wilson's rules for the use of mace are hardly reassuring. When was the last time that a District policeman was adequately punished for the misuse of a firearm?)

One of the reasons that local police continue down a seeming unchangeable path of inefficiency, racism, and injustice is because city officials and citizens alike have a strong tendency to accept the police's own definition of what they should be doing. Despite overwhelming evidence that the police are failing badly in their appointed task of controlling crime—not to mention such niceties as being decent to the people they are supposed to be serving—great faith is still placed in police officials.

But police officials have certain inherent deficiencies as experts on police matters. The leadership of the Metropolitan Police Department is comprised of men whose education since high school has been largely limited to what they have learned on the street and in department training. Rising in rank under an apprenticeship system of narrow focus, they find themselves in their senior years called upon to deal with problems that a lifetime of day-to-day police operations has not well equipped them to handle. How many officials of the police department have a law degree, for example? The fact is that only a handful even have a college education of any sort.

It is too late to correct the educational failings of the existing leadership of our police department. And we do not have time to wait for the slowly increasing number of black officers on the force to rise through the tortuous and still heavily discriminatory promotion system of the Metropolitan Police Department to positions of real power. Reform by attrition is simply too slow.

If we are to have change, we must look for both expertise and personnel outside the existing structure of the police department. Walter Washington will never hear it like it is—such as the views expressed by Judge Lindsley on page 3 of this issue—if he relies on the

ersatz expertise of his own department. And he will never have it like it should be if he remains tied to the department's closed shop policy of selecting its leadership.

Progressive thought on police matters abounds these days, if the Commissioner cares to seek it out. (His treatment of former public safety director Patrick Murphy indicates a certain lack of interest. Further, he dawdled so long in selecting a replacement that the congressional racists moved into the vacuum and abolished the civilian public safety director's post altogether.)

New sources of personnel are also available. One imaginative suggestion is that put forth by Adam Walinsky, an associate of the late Robert Kennedy. Walinsky proposed to make the bulk of foot patrolmen college graduates serving two to three year terms. He suggests that they be enticed by college scholarships and permanent draft deferments.

Walinsky sees the policeman as "among the most alienated people in American society" and that their status shows interesting parallels with the pre-World War II army. "That too was drawn overwhelmingly from lower status groups; largely uneducated, unable to get and hold a good civilian job... Most significantly for our purposes, the pre-1940 Army was despised; not welcomed in people's homes or neighborhoods, consigned to shabby bars and amusements fit only for them, to be avoided by decent citizens."

The coming of the war and the draft made the Army a more open, respected and effective institution, Walinsky suggests, and he believes the police could benefit from being opened up as well.

The use of short-termers on the force would undoubtedly move the police closer to the civilian population and would make even career officers more sensitive to contemporary non-police surroundings. It is worth noting that during the city riots, National Guard units behaved, on the average, with far more sensitivity and discretion than the police. Perhaps one reason is that the national guardsmen still considers himself a civilian first, something that too few policemen do.

Walinsky believes his program could be tested in several major cities under the direction of a small staff with a budget of about \$100,000 a year. Washington would be an excellent city for such a test.



"Nothing would please the Kremlin more than to have the people of this country choose a second-rate President."

--Richard Nixon
October 8, 1952

But there is also a need to bring in new personnel at higher levels. An extremely interesting article in the August 2 issue of the New Republic, by George Berkley of Northeastern University, tells how this is being done in several European countries:

"Sweden earmarks some 300 of its top positions for lawyers who are recruited directly into the upper ranks. France recruits half of its lieutenant candidates from among civilians with a baccalaureate degree and half of its inspector candidates from law school graduates. German police forces are allowed to recruit 16 percent of their detective forces from the legal profession; applicants to the regular police who possess the equivalent of two years of high education in this country—are allowed to apply for officer training three years earlier than can their less educated colleagues

(The Berkley article points out a host of other differences between U. S. and European police departments; by comparison the U. S. forces come out badly. Berkley has a book being published shortly by Beacon Press called "The Democratic Policeman." It should be well worth reading.)

The European experience suggests a possible route for the reform of Washington's police leadership. As positions open in the grades of captain or above, they could be filled with black lawyers until the top leadership of the department more nearly reflected the racial composition of the city. Such a policy would not only improve racial balance, it would compensate for the debilitating legal ignorance of the police department and the lack of civilian influence in its operations.

There are many other reforms needed, with community control ranking high among them, but unless a major drive is started to replace the present discriminatory, undereducated, and insensitive police leadership through some form of lateral entry into the top ranks of the department, most other reforms will wither on the vine.

If you want to gauge how serious DC's officials are about the air pollution problem, watch what happens to the three year grant of \$799,382 the Department of Public Health has just received to carry out new District regulations on pollution.

FIGHT GOES ON AGAINST ROADS

THREE SISTERS ISN'T BUILT YET

CONTRARY to the view of the daily press, the fight against the Three Sisters Bridge isn't over yet. Not by a long shot. At least two major law suits are expected to be filed that could—at the very least—tie up construction for months. The Nixon Administration is talking about expediting the matter through the courts but opponents of the bridge aren't about to cooperate.

As we went to press, the Arlington County Board, after momentary wavering, was still planning to press its suit against the bridge on the grounds that parkland that would be taken for the bridge cannot be legally so used. It looks like the Arlington people have a pretty good case. The Republican chairman of the county board started to back down on the issue, but irate Republicans in the county reportedly made him change his mind.

The other law suit, to be filed from the District side, would raise a host of questions about the legality of Congress's action in attempting to force the District to build the bridge. Those involved in the case will be many of the same who pressed a suit (successful until Congress came up with its most recent techniques for thwarting it) on the freeway issue in 1966.

The lawyers in the case aren't tipping their hand as to the specifics of their suit but they appear reasonably confident.

One of the mysteries concerning the Three Sisters Bridge has been what would happen to all the traffic that would cross over it into the District. An earlier plan to construct a connecting link to the center leg and the North Central Freeway via a tunnel downtown under K St. is apparently dead because of the opposition of business groups. Publicly, at least, the traffic therefore has nowhere to go except onto such already clogged arteries as the Whitehurst Freeway and M St. But in the past few days it has been learned that the Highway Department has secretly revived its interest in a scheme to build a freeway that would move north off of the Whitehurst Freeway between 20th and 21st St., crossing Conn. Ave. south of Fla. Ave., following the south side of Fla. to U St. and thence east to the connecting links. The path of this road, which in places would be an eight-lane depressed highway, would cut straight across the P St. Beach, conveniently curve around to miss the site of the Cosmos Club, move north behind the Phillips Gallery and below the Washington Hilton Hotel, and then cut through the heart of the Shaw urban renewal area taking in its path such buildings as the Pride headquarters, several public schools, and the Howard Theatre. 14th & U N. W., already slated to have a middle class office building on its north side, would have a middle-class freeway on its south side. The plan, which only the DC Highway Department could dream up, would con-

(Please turn to page 8)

CONTENTS

THE SCHOOL BOARD RACE
Page 7

THE QUALITY OF LAW
ENFORCEMENT
Page 3

THE FREEWAY FIGHT
Page 1

JOSIAH X. SWAMPOODLE
LOOKS AT SERVICE CHARGES
Page 2

ARE SUBWAYS OBSOLETE?
Page 7

NEWS NOTES

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A PRIMER ON GAS

REMEDIES SUGGESTED

SINCE the use of poison gas is becoming an integral part of the American political scene, used by police, mayors, governors of California and the like, we thought readers might find the following primer on gas, prepared by the Liberation News Service, of interest:

CS TEAR GAS

Dispensing Method: Canisters, plastic grenades, pepper fog machines, helicopters.

Properties: Fat soluble; peppery smell.

Symptoms: Stinging and nausea, reddening, burning, tearing, runny nose, tightness in chest, coughing, maybe sneezing.

Treatment: Eyes: Irrigate with diluted boric acid solution (3 parts water to 1 part boric acid) or plain water. Use eye drops. Skin: Apply mineral oil with cotton pads, or 1) immerse in water 2) wipe with rubbing alcohol.

Protection: Tear gas mask, wet towels, or surgical mask.

CN TEAR GAS

Dispensing Method: Same as CS.

Properties: Water soluble; apple blossom smell.

Symptoms: Same as CS except for nausea and stinging. All symptoms milder than CS.

Treatment: Eyes: Same as CS. Skin: Immerse in water.

Protection: Same as CS.

NAUSEA GAS

Dispensing Method: Canisters

Properties: Clear, colorless, odorless.

Symptoms: Projective vomiting, instant diarrhea, severe stomach cramps, upset mind balance, pain & heat sensation in lungs.

Treatment: See a physician if symptoms do not disappear.

Protection: Run like hell in the opposite direction. If wearing a gas mask, remove it.

BLISTER GAS

Dispensing Method: Canisters.

Properties: Fat soluble; white powder.

Symptoms: Blistering, instant or within 48 hours, like 2nd degree burns.



"DUE TO SOME RECENT, SPECTACULAR, BREAKTHROUGHS, IN OUR C.B.W. RESEARCH, WE, HERE-AT THE PROVING GROUND-ARE NOW PREPARED TO ANNOUNCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WITH GREAT PRIDE, AND PROFESSIONAL CONFIDENCE, THAT EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, PLACE OF ORIGIN, OR CHOICE - CAN, FROM THIS MOMENT FORWARD, BE EXPECTED TO GIVE THEIR LIVES! THAT THIS NATION SHALL NOT PERISH"

ROBB

Treatment: Skin: Apply mineral or salad oil with sterile gauze pads. Wrap in sterile gauze.

Protection: Rubber gas mask, gloves, cotton hose, long pants, shoes, neck wrap.

MACE

Dispensing Method: Propellant canisters.

Properties: Liquid, approximately 10% CN tear gas, 70% propellant, 10% kerosene.

Symptoms: Severe eye irritation, temporary blindness, reddening and burning, convulsions if swallowed.

Treatment: Eyes: Irrigate for 15-20 minutes with boric acid solution (See CS above) or water. Use eye drops. Skin: wipe with rubbing alcohol.

Protection: Sld eye goggles; Coat skin with vaseline and remove it after exposure.

Josiah Swampoodle

THE other day I received a bill from John Hechinger's lumber emporium postmarked August 8 that included a notation indicating that if I didn't pay by August 20 I would be subject to a service charge. Becalmed in the summer doldrums, I let the threat pass unnoticed until it was too late and now I must take the punishment that John thinks fits the crime.

A service charge used to be an incremental price added for some incremental increase in service received by a customer. Today it is an incremental price added for the failure of the customer to provide some incremental increase in service to the merchant. Of late I have perceived a growing troop of service charges sneaking across my checkbook, adding 16 cents here and 32 cents there. The rate of infiltration has increased markedly in recent years; guerilla raids by anonymous bookkeepers serving various corporate entities are taking their toll.

It used to be only the bank that needed to be feared. Banks have long recognized the value of a few pennies added and have refined the art to the point that they add a service charge

if you fail to dot the i's or cross the t's on your checks. (One bank even went so far as to send me a service charge notice in an envelope with postage due. I xeroxed the envelope and sent it back with a service charge notice of my own and the bank graciously called it a draw.)

But nowadays my mail is full of threatened service charges. Being a moderately prudent man not yet totally rid of the puritan ethic, I attempt to pay all my bills regularly on or about the first of the month, bank balance and other conditions permitting. But this is no longer good enough. The gas company wants me to pay by the 16th of the month, the electric company by the 7th and John Hechinger by the 20th. Blue Cross, priding itself on public service, does not make service charges; it just threatens to cancel your insurance if you miss their less-than-one month deadline.

Further, the time between the receipt of a particular bill and the addition of a service charge varies with each company and billing dates are changed each month to keep the customer from detecting any logical pattern.

If one attempts to discover the rational for this system, one quickly runs into the newest body of law. Today, common law and statute must share the forum of jurisprudence with a younger, yet in many ways more powerful, discipline: company policy.

Company policy adds service charges on the 15th, the 7th, or the full moon of the month. Company policy prevents you from returning defective plastic hose after three days. Company policy stops you from sending back a piece of merchandise if you can't find the warranty guarantee card hidden in the bottom of the box. Company policy makes you order parts direct from Alberta and then have them dumped on your front lawn in the rain because company policy won't let the driver take a five pound package up the steps. Company policy allows no recourse for breakage in transit, defects in the main motor and other parts not made by the manufacturer, or sales clerk stapling your finger as well as your package. Unlike more traditional forms of law, company policy is final and unappealable. Company policy, and the service charges

and misery that are meted out for failure to observe it, is bullying millions of Americans daily and is perhaps a major hidden cause of the national unrest.

Not so long ago, I took a piece of an old air-conditioner into Montgomery Ward and asked for a replacement. A young girl, well versed in company policy but uncertain about the nature of air conditioners, attempted to determine the correct number of the part. With a micro-film projector she scanned various complex part plans and finally suggested that #40320-D was what I wanted. I looked at the plan and said that I thought she was right.

"But I'm not sure," she added quickly. "It will cost you \$16.57 to have it shipped from our Baltimore warehouse and if it's the wrong part you can't return it."

"Why not?" I asked.

"Company policy," she replied.

"Then maybe you can give me some assurance that it is the right part?"

"I'm sorry sir, all we can do is show you the plan and let you select the part you want and if it's not right then you can't return it. Baltimore won't let us."

I took my chances but the thought of the citizenry of Baltimore rising up to prevent the wrongful return of part #40320-D bothered me for several days.

Somehow we must free ourselves from service charges, company policy and Baltimore. Perhaps a list of non-negotiable demands to the Sears Roebuck warehouse in Philadelphia or a mass march to Hechinger under the banner "Service Charges Without Service is Tyranny" would turn the tide.

We must let corporate America know that if they are going to keep selling us goods of increasing price and decreasing quality they should at least be nice to us.

WALTER Washington has ordered \$200,000 worth of overtime by DC cops in the wake of July's crime jump. We don't recall this sum being appropriated by anyone, as required by law. WW also described as "absolutely vital" President Nixon's police-state crime proposals for the District. We expect to hear any day now that our Commissioner has joined Young Americans for Freedom.



The Bookcase

"How the Police Work," article in the New Republic, August 2, 1969, describing police procedures in European countries.

"The Selling of the President 1968," excerpts from a book by Joe McGinniss (Trident Press) in August Harper's.

"Systems Analysis of Urban Transportation," article in July Scientific American on new transportation systems for cities.

(Readers are invited to submit listings of books and articles that would be of interest to Washingtonians. A summary of less than 25 words would be appreciated.)

THE QUALITY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

BY BYRON F. LINDSLEY

This is a Nation of great efficiency and pragmatism which prides itself on being one of the most educated and informed societies in the world. Yet we operate police forces and select policemen in ways and from sources that are related neither to the needs of the time nor to the Nation's ability, knowledge, and financial resources to meet those needs.

Most policemen are not suited by their education, training, cultural background, or attitude to cope, effectively or relevantly, with the complex law enforcement and crime prevention needs of a society going through the throes of broad, fast-moving, and dramatic cultural evolution.

In terms of years of quality of schooling completed, most policemen in America's tumultuous cities have an average education near the lowest levels for all types of public employment. Very few policemen have had academic work enabling them either to comprehend the philosophy of American institutions and law or to understand human motivation and behavior. Law enforcement and police policies throughout America are out of step with history and history's future course. They are, in a sense, functional anachronisms.

This society, which is facing turbulent change, must rely on personnel and police programs designed more for the old game of cops and robbers than to deal with the injustices, crime, and unrest of a perplexing society capable of producing poverty, hunger, inequality, racism, and decaying cities alongside of wealth, affluence, comfort, and luxury. This country is financially and resourcefully able to change to more intelligent and realistic programs of law enforcement. The very character of our constitutional society, created to promote justice, equality, and liberty, may depend upon the change.

The alternatives are limited.

We can produce a revolution in police theory and practices and upgrade the quality of police personnel.

We can add gimmickry and palliative techniques to lessen the effects of law enforcement's great weaknesses.

We can continue to do what we have been doing except on more massive scales, with greater numbers of police and with more sophisticated techniques, equipment, and arms.

Most police chiefs, mayors, legislators, and other leaders across the land support the third approach. It would be an exercise in futility. Continuing to meet the increasing crime shown by statistics merely by doing more of the same things in law enforcement with more of the same kind of police will not bring order or reduce crime any more in the future than it has to this day.

The ears of public authorities in positions to lead or at least stimulate action seem generally insensitive to the real message of the unrest in the cities, in the schools and universities, and upon the streets. It is difficult to surrender the false conclusions of a racist culture and rigid institutional patterns.

The trend of the past should tell much about what the future will be. The effective future of law enforcement will depend upon our ability and willingness to understand the past and to make the bold and innovative modifications called for. In the absence of major change, constitutional order will become an impossible myth.

Substantial change for equal justice across the board will have to occur soon. If it does not, the form of black and brown vs. white confrontation will inevitably become more intense, more broadly based, and more determined toward action. To this day, in dealing with the injustices of white racism, we have been mincing forward in all that we have tried with a soft shoe shuffle that has led us nowhere. The country has reached the point where giant positive strides in nine league boots are the least it dares take.

For reasons not always consistent with America's historical and constitutional heritage, police agencies

and officers seem to be omnipresent in times of social confrontations between those who seek and those who resist change. As the Kerner Commission pointed out, the police have been an immediate catalytic factor in most of the violent social outbursts that have occurred in American cities. They have also been involved in many of the major incidences of violence on the school campuses and in political and anti-war demonstrations. The most significant aspect of this police role is not that police and law enforcement agencies are present, attempting to establish and maintain order, but that they themselves frequently become a substantial part of the disorder. It is further significant that where demands for change meet intransigent resistance to change, the forces of "law and order" consistently appear in the vanguard of those resisting change.

It is a basic police theory that there must be unquestioned respect for police and public authority. Dissent against authority, though that dissent may not be illegal within the meaning of the Constitution, is still equated with lawlessness. This approach demands that a person acquiesce to the policeman's interpretation of the law or face the consequences of police action.

Judge Lindsley has served on the California Superior Court of San Diego since 1960 and as president of the San Diego Urban League since 1967.

Police also tend to demand acquiescence in standards of morality, mores, and customs which have never been codified into the law itself. Lengthy hair, a bearded face, unique style of dress, the music played, sung, or enjoyed, bare feet, ragged and unclean appearance, and many other different personal practices become objects of moral and legal judgment by many, including those with the power of daily decision over the lives of other men.

This tendency is not limited to police aspects of law enforcement. It may be the straw that weighs the district attorney's decision in favor of prosecution on otherwise doubtful evidence. Getting a haircut or shaving a beard to satisfy the judge's taste or predilections has too often been a frequent condition to avoiding jail or juvenile detention.

Virtually all of our present customs, mores, and institutions face challenges. These challenges are meeting with bitter and fearful resistance to change. Where confrontations erupt into open conflict it is predictable that the police, as the guardians of tradition, will be there supporting the forces of resistance.

Institutions for the administration of justice, from the lowest to the highest court in the land, are under vigorous, often vicious attack. Where the black, the Mexican American, the poor, the ignorant, and the human derelict are concerned, attacks directed at the trial court and the institutions of correction, rehabilitation, and detention have great validity. For racial and national minorities, racism is the essential cause of inequality in the processes of American law enforcement which determines who shall be brought before the courts and the quality of the procedures and practices of the trial courts after they get there.

The force of racism makes non-white Americans most frequently the objects of rigid, oppressive police action;

more frequently arrested than their white fellow citizens for comparable offenses;

more frequently facing the courts and juries without adequate or with borderline legal representation;

most frequently held in jail before trial because of the inability to afford bail too often set beyond their financial means;

most frequently convicted of crime by both judges and juries;

most frequently required to serve prison terms after conviction;

most likely to serve longer terms in prison;

least likely to receive probation without prison sentence;

least likely to receive favorable consideration from parole authorities;

most likely to have their children brought before the Juvenile Court;

most likely to have their children held in detention pending juvenile hearing and declared wards of the court;

least likely to be provided available facilities within the community for their children's necessary care and rehabilitation;

most likely to have their children removed from the home and placed in detention and rehabilitation facilities;

least likely to be successful in trials on the civil courts;

least likely to receive adequate compensation awards in personal injury and other damage litigation where they are successful;

most likely to be disbelieved as witnesses upon the witness stand;

least likely to serve upon the juries of America that sit in judgment upon their fellow man;

and most likely to wonder why courts are called courts of justice.

Those who have suffered deprivation, assaults to their personal and racial dignity, and have been denied their constitutional and human birthright to justice will no longer acquiesce in denial and suffering. The centuries of apathetic resignation are behind them. They know that humane morality, the trend of civilization's course, and the Constitution are in their favor. They also know that they will have to face the forces of institutionalized racism in government, education, employment, law enforcement, housing practices, and all other sectors of community life with every step taken up from a life of unequal justice to one of realistic equality.

"Law and order" and the frantic anti-crime, "there's-a-rapist-under-every-bed-and-a-host-of-thugs-in-all-the-streets" crusade are seen by the non-white minorities as racist sophistry. These phrases do not mean what the white man says. To the black and the brown men they do mean a lot in a negative sense, however, and when he hears them he knows they are talking about him. "Law and order" doesn't mean a fair and peaceful society to him. It means that he must not dissent too strongly against injustices or he will be brought in line. It means that he is expected to trust and to wait patiently for the white man's grace to be bestowed with "all deliberate speed." He has learned that deliberate speed has been much more deliberate than speedy.

To the student on the campus, respect for law, order, and authority means that the young, especially racial minority young, are expected to accept the educational system as their elders have devised it for them, no matter how inadequate and inapplicable it is to the life they see ahead. They know that when they complain too effectively, the minions of the law will appear and, fortified by their prejudices against racial minorities and the young, they will bring order, using the force they feel necessary.

America has failed to establish justice and the blessings of liberty for the black man, the Mexican American, the poverty stricken, the hungry, the derelict, the educationally deprived, the enforced ghetto resident, and the non-conformists of all colors and walks of life. When, therefore, white, comfortable, liberty-loving America cries for "law and order," to the minorities and to those oppressed by inequality, its wail has a hollow sound.

The American policeman is lost in a sea of forces he finds unfathomable. The significance of the Constitution and its legal purpose are concepts he may not perceive because he probably has not been properly educated or trained to do so. When the Constitution's provisions protect individual liberty, the policeman complains that he is inhibited in his important work of enforcing the law in the street. In this he is right. The Constitution does inhibit and limit the action of the police. What he does not understand, and what the majority of American people have either forgotten or never learned, is that the tyranny of authority, often expressed in the form of police action, inspired the necessity to write a Constitution that did indeed limit that kind of authority and that kind of police action.

Police could easily maintain a society of orderliness if left to their own devices. That order would, however, shortly lose its savor, even for those who now seek it to protect their status. There is no such thing as a little legal tyranny any more than there is any such thing as a little legal anarchy.

The majority of white Americans and a still larger majority of white policemen equate poverty and human misery, and in some peculiar way even skin color, with sin and evil. Public attitude also fortifies the policeman in his fixation on the *maintenance* of tradition as the highest morality. *Though most moral-*

ists do not themselves live by their creed of morality, they talk it well and are at their best as they seek to require it of others. Police cannot be blamed alone, therefore, when they over-control and keep a heavy mailed fist upon restive minorities and upon students. It is also the mailed fist of a rigid, puritan, anti-intellectual, racist nation.

There are some variables, however, which set the policeman apart. He is a public servant, and we expect our public servants to attend to the needs of all the people, not just the majority. He is also different in certain observable ways. The policeman tends not only to be a functional conservative, as are the majority of the people; he tends to be more so. Not only does he reflect America's racist thinking, but he tends to be even more racist, with more opportunities to express it, and is more forceful and openly debasing in the ways he displays his racism in his daily work. Not only does he support the public's general tendency to place more faith in the maintenance of order and security than in the expression of liberty, but he considers order and maintenance of security as the absolute and ultimate goal of society.

Since the police are armed with tools of power, force, and death, and are frequently willing to use them, the frightening dimensions of the police authoritative role are multiplied. The possible results of the misuse of police power under the assumption that it is right and that it will be supported by the people are disturbing and frightening.

When black people rebel in their own ghetto against the cruel injustice of an almost total violation of all their basic rights, the horrible fact is that when the smoke of fire and guns clears away, it is the dead bodies of black men, women, and children that make up the statistics of the so-called riot's deadly effects. The Kerner Commission, the McCone Commission, and every reliable study made of the black rebellions have reported that the overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians.

One can understand that the policeman may fear for his own safety when he finds himself in the midst of such violent disorder. Fear by police for their own safety and the necessities of actual emergency, however, cannot by any rational logic explain deaths from bullet holes in the back of a black body or the killings of those having no actual or apparent weapons to use against the police. Nor can one justify the killing or injuring of young children, even though they were shot while committing an act of crime. They could not possibly have harmed the police and death as a penalty would not have been a remote possibility if the accused had been convicted after a fair trial. There may also have been some insulting taunts directed at "honkey" or "whitey" police in addition to the alleged law violations. How cheap must black life be when it can be blasted into eternity by the law enforcer for a stolen garment or a taunt, and then have the act of killing receive public support or acquiescence in the name of "law and order."

The real danger of the role of the policeman in an era of struggle against the effects of racism, and of

social change based on constitutional rights is that policemen not only do not understand the nature of the struggle for equal justice, but they themselves are too often a vital part of the need for that struggle.

The police are the great single irritating force confronting the upward struggling minority with daily indignity. In and out of the ghetto, minorities find the police treating them with disrespect and contempt at every turn. The dissenters of America—black, brown, or white—can be expected to pursue their petitions before the people or before their representatives through over-forceful or violent means until police practices are changed. The propensity to over-react, to over-control, to insult, and to denigrate must end, and reliance on massive power and exorbitant numbers of policemen must be abandoned.

It is time to build police forces and programs with men capable of understanding the dynamics of society, its historical and constitutional background, the bases of individual liberty provided for in the Constitution, the validity of the human longing for dignity and equal justice, and the invalidity and cruelty of racism which continues to deny that dignity.

Several months ago the Chief of Police of San Diego, California, made a plea for more money to increase the size of the city's police force and to add more sophisticated weaponry to its arsenal. It was needed, the argument went, to protect the city's security and to maintain order in the face of potential massive disorder. Since San Diego was having no problems of any proportions upon its several college campuses, the argument meant only one thing: the police wanted to be able to keep the city's Southeast ghetto under secure control. They wanted to be prepared and able, quickly and massively, to occupy and subdue the area, should a breakout occur. It was obviously a plea to strengthen the number and power of police because of racial fear. This is not unique to San Diego. It has been the pattern throughout the country. And the effect of such an approach only further antagonizes non-white minorities.

The general argument to legislative bodies holding the purse strings is that the control of increasing crime, as disclosed by Federal crime statistical reports, requires more police. The same pattern of increased budget requests because of increased crime statistics has been going on for years. There is a certain illogic if not sophistry to this kind of reliance on crime statistics: Why do crime statistics not go down as police numbers go up, as sophistication of weaponry improves, and as training in police science is made more widely available to police agencies over the country? Why, as the F.B.I. budget and police budget grow, do F.B.I. crime statistics also grow?

There may be several explanations. One, suggested by Robert M. Cipes in his recent book, *The Crime War, The Manufactured Crusade*, is that the crime statistics can be a most effective bureaucratic tool to sustain the expansion of police function. That would be a classic example of Parkinson's law in operation. Another theory holds that it isn't crime itself that is increasing so much but that it is being more inclusively reported in official crime statistics. More crime goes



unreported than is reported. It would be easy by this technique to double the apparent growth of crime without a single additional incidence of crime, merely by reporting that which had previously gone unreported. Statistics are a remarkably facile tool. What is the real answer to the increase in crime statistics? It may be just that—an increase in statistics rather than in crime.

There are intelligent, informed, and objective experts who do not accept the argument that crime is the growing menace we generally assume. Dr. Karl Menninger is one. In fact, he suggests that we are not only not becoming more criminal but are much less criminally inclined than in years past. He also states that violence is on the wane. If so, the public is being frightened for the wrong reasons.

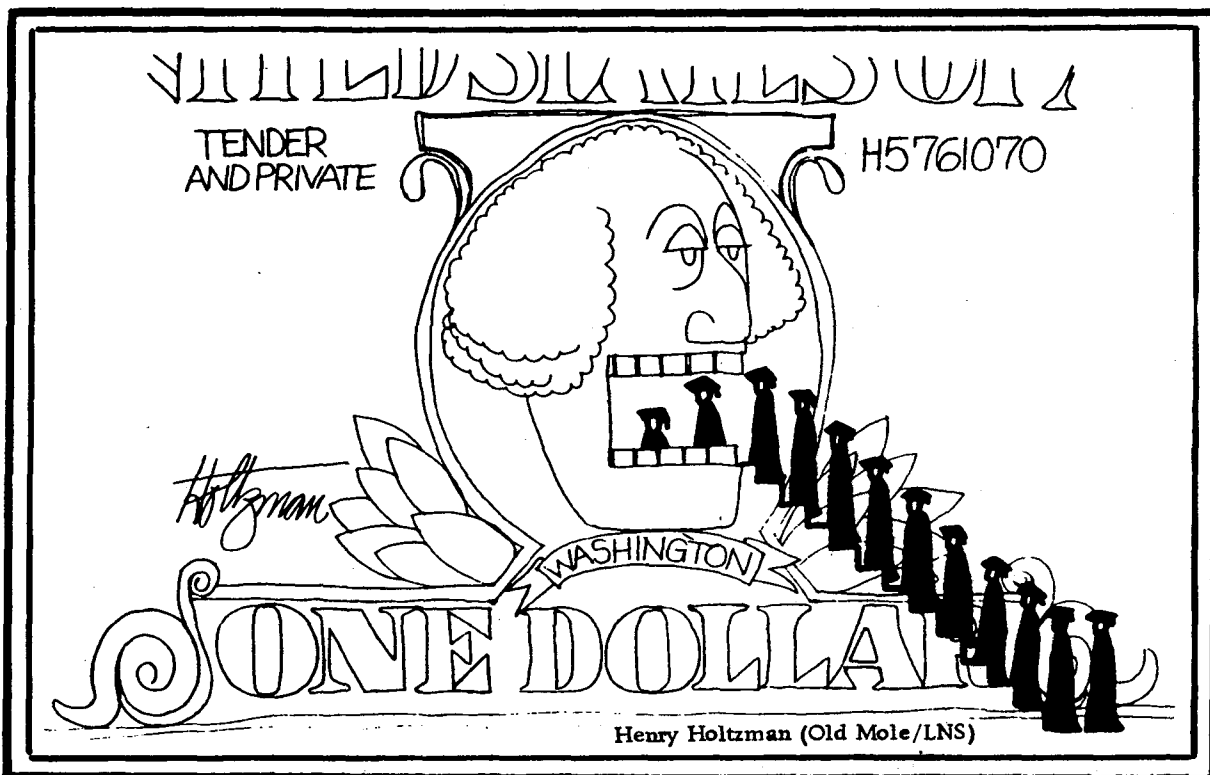
What constitutes a crime is a transient, changing phenomenon. Yesterday's crime may be legal today. Crime is probably increased more by passing new laws making new crimes than by human conduct. The plethora of new laws for riot control, for regulating forms of dissent, and for expanding legal sanctions against conduct—conduct defined as immoral by those who pass the laws—will be reflected in years to come in further increases in crime statistics. The fact remains however, that, statistically speaking, whatever the true facts of crime are, the increase in the number of police has not in the past and will not in the future result in the reduction of crime statistics. Where the forces of law rest almost entirely upon a philosophy of crime detection and apprehension rather than on a theory of crime prevention and assault upon the causes of crime, crime statistics will forever inflate.

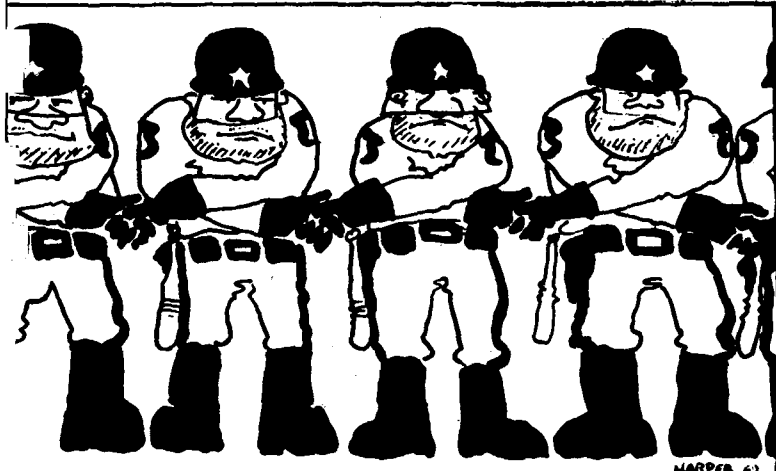
At the time of requests for budget increases for police forces there should be more concern for quality than for the quantity of policemen and size of police programs for which the money will be spent. If the cities are not going to continue to flail at windmills, *quality control* is the direction that crime control and the police role must take.

The political power of law enforcement establishments and the police of America is much greater than most realize. They are the domestic analogy to the military. It is patriotism to rally to their support, and those who attack their sanctity may and indeed are widely accused of committing domestic treason. The tremendous effect of police agencies and leaders on the character of society and the frightening consequences of their growing assertion of independence from other constituted authority should sound an alert to the imminence of a possible police state. Last year, several police leaders in different parts of the country brazenly said they would enforce the law as they saw it despite directives from their mayors and other civil government leaders who have legal authority to set policy.

The future of the American dream may depend on dramatic reassessments of police policy and practice by those in public life. There must be a more realistic appraisal of the total role of law enforcement in the context of today's society. That appraisal in turn must be shaped in large part by those outside the police function itself if we are to avoid the burden of its institutionalized concepts. There are those in the fields of education, constitutional law, the sciences, and human behavior who are perceptive and qualified enough to do the job now if society were ready and willing.

Higher quality of police officers and programs will require different and better education and selection standards. Education, of course, is no panacea. It does offer, however, the opportunity for intelligent and objective improvement and professionalization of tomorrow's police.





- LNS

row's policeman. It would be a false assumption to conclude that effective education may be accurately measured by the number of classes taken, the number of years attended, and the earning of a degree. Four years of college and a degree will not automatically make a good policeman or a wise graduate. Expanded programs of police education through educational institutions have consistently failed. Failure resulted because they educated the wrong people in the wrong areas, with the wrong subjects and for the wrong reasons.

One of the weakest aspects of America's police, one which most urgently needs change, is that of police attitude toward the public and public attitude toward police. Education in police science will not improve the situation. Cities and police departments in the past, in order to professionalize their departments, sent their officers to college to make them better policemen. But many of these men were ill-fitted in the first place to meet today's needs, and the training program merely tended to emphasize efficiency of administration, investigation, and enforcement techniques.

While police attitudes may be no worse than those of a substantial part of the people in the community they represent, it is not the function of police to represent majority attitudes. One of the basic designs of the Constitution was to create a government, as Alexander Hamilton said, that would also protect the minorities of the country from the ill humors of the day and the oppressions of the majority. Thus, professionalized policemen must have in-depth education in our political and constitutional history, our political institutions, the development of our law and its philosophy, and the nature and function of our judicial process.

Emphasis should be in subject areas concerned with the social and political sciences, human relations, the understanding of man and his behavior in relation to other people, and training should include an intense exposure to the development of human culture. Technology, at least for those training at the college level to become professionalized police officers, should occupy a minor part of the curriculum at most. This kind of training in police science becomes important after the man becomes a policeman when he can receive it at the in-service level. Educated policemen must first be educated men.

Recruitment and selection of new officers for this kind of professionalized police function requires high qualification standards. Recruitment on the basis of military experience or physique should be abandoned. As recruitment it seeks the least common denominator. Those whose personalities, prejudices, and cultural background will interfere with their working properly and intelligently with all kinds of citizens—of all cultures, of all colors, of all nationalities—can and should be identified and eliminated from the selection process. There are scientifically reliable psychological human behavior tests already designed and available to identify the sadist, the authoritarian, the hostile, and the prejudiced. These tests should be used as a matter of course in selection of new police. They should also be used without delay to learn more about the attitudes of those now in police work.

Recruitment and entry must also be possible at any level in the service. The present military-like practice of starting all new policemen, irrespective of qualifications, at the bottom rung can and must be abandoned. The military hierarchy pyramid with its broad base, where all must start as privates, has driven qualified men, who might have chosen police work, into other fields.

Professional salaries are required to command the

attention of those who meet the higher standards of education, training, experience, and background. This does not mean costs necessarily have to rise dramatically. The total cost of law enforcement might well decrease when the relevancy and effectiveness of such a program became apparent to those now in almost hopeless conflict with law authority. Many of the cities' costly riots might not have occurred had law enforcement been recognized and practiced as a highly professionalized pursuit.

There have been some recommendations for professionalization and educational upgrading of police operations and personnel through the establishment of a national police academy comparable to the Naval Academy and West Point. There are few approaches as potentially dangerous. One of the worst aspects of modern police personnel and organizational structure is the military mentality applied to domestic law enforcement. This approach should be eliminated, not institutionalized. A quasi-military institution would not for long be a mere supplement to assist local police in becoming more effective. It would be the force that would mold the nature and direction of the future policeman and the programs of law enforcement in the cities of America. It would inevitably evolve into education for police work along military and technological lines and would probably cause police functions to evolve into a supreme national police force. It would be a high class vocational school at best.

Education for police work should be carried on within the existing educational structure of America's universities without vocational training aspects. It would be useful to have some centralized agency at the Federal level assist in financing and conducting local training programs. But a national police academy based on a military model is a dangerous concept, and its implications are frightening. There are problems enough, as the late President Eisenhower warned, with the military-industrial complex. He warned against its potential hold upon the whole course of the Nation's economy and culture. Experience has proved him to have been perceptive and prophetic.

It is apparent from a practical standpoint that it will not be possible to completely renovate police departments merely by eliminating those now on the force who do not meet the required standards. A dramatic upgrading in the attitudes of existing police—toward minorities, the young, the poor, the non-conforming, and the former law violator—is essential. Some police forces throughout the Nation have undertaken programs of sensitivity training in racial attitudes in an attempt to give police a better understanding of the black man, the Mexican American, and other minorities and their cultures, and in turn to assist these groups in better understanding the difficult police role. Existing programs, though they may use highly qualified people as instructors, are still grossly inadequate.

Four to eight hours in a classroom studying race and human relations, the common practice of most of these programs, is an inadequate exposure. It may be necessary to exacerbate a lifetime of belief and attitudes which have become a part of the officer's total makeup. His own culture itself may have to be changed. Classroom work alone for any period of time cannot do this.

Some police departments have programs of intensive exposure in the form of group therapy sessions and confrontation dialogues involving police officers and members of the minority community. These can be highly effective, but unless it is apparent to the police who are asked to take a part in the programs that the programs are taken seriously by the effective and authoritative community leaders—including the Chief of Police, the Police Commissioners, the City Manager, the City Council, the Mayor, or whomever else has authority over the police department—the probabilities of their success are limited.

In this area, as in every other area involving the need to meet the challenges of change in a racist, moralist society, vigorous, intelligent, innovative leadership by responsible public officials is absolutely essential.

If police are ever expected to succeed in their functions of law enforcement, law protection, law prevention, and the maintenance of order in the areas of community unrest, it will be necessary to create a better image of the police with the minority commu-

are forever dealing with effects and ignoring causes. Police review boards are badly needed now, primarily because we have poor police concepts and unqualified policemen. Correct these basic abuses by upgrading the quality of police work and we will hit closer to causes. Review boards have little effect in producing long range improvement. The review technique may delude us into living with the kind of police establishment we have.

Attacking injustice through improving the character and function of police work does not imply that better police will solve the ills of society; they will not. The kind of police forces we have merely reflect society itself. The denigrating, unjust, cruel, and racist practices are symptomatic of the evils of society and of the ineffective and insensitive quality and public leadership. But action on police problems cannot wait upon the purification of white America's racist attitudes.

The ultimate result of continuing down the path in the direction we are now going, whether it be in law enforcement, in the processes of justice, in business, in education, or in employment, means one thing and one thing only: This society, theoretically based upon freedom for all, will end up a society with freedom for none.

We have two ways to go: The way of law and order by the control of force or the way of domestic tranquility through a society of law and justice.

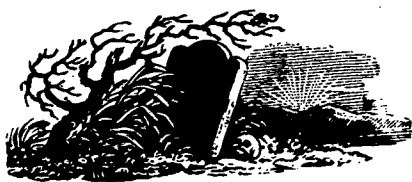
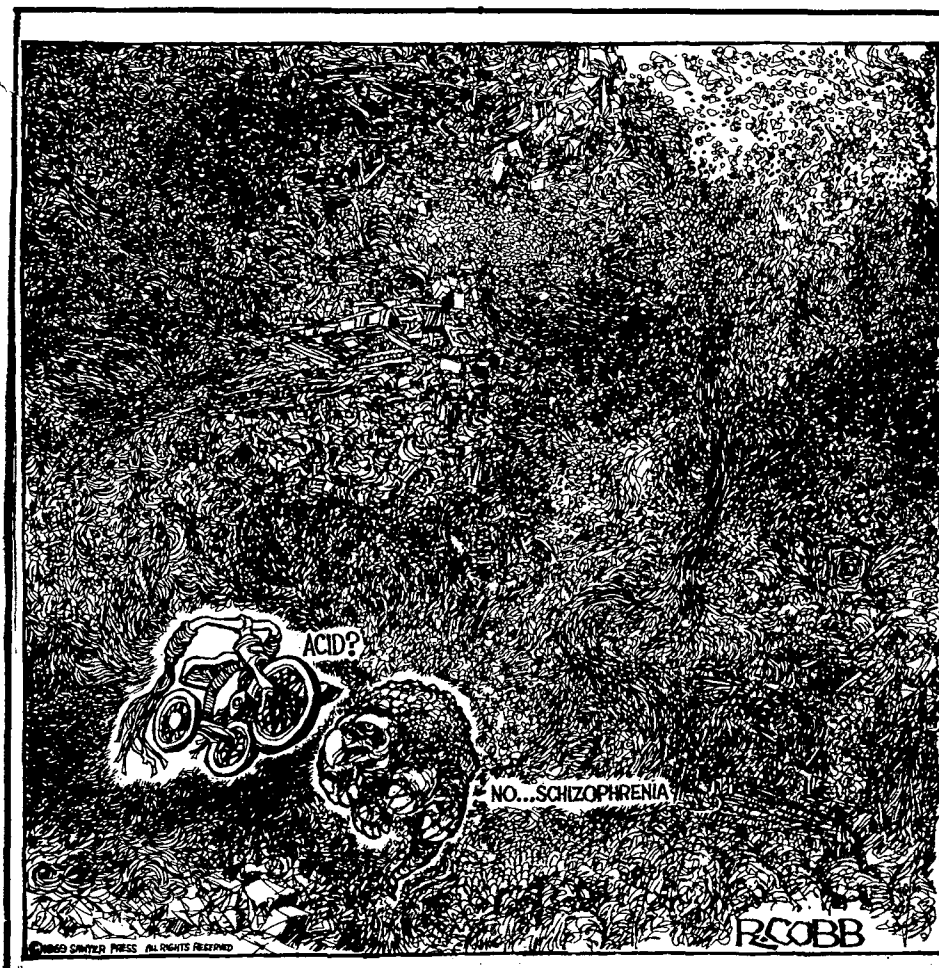


NEWS NOTES EXPLAINS THINGS

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CITY COUNCIL: IN MEMORIUM

FROM the outset the City Council made an effort not to appear to be the colonial legislature that it is. At its best, it has made the charade almost believable, as it has taken the side of District residents in scraps with the Commissioner, Congress, or the White House.

Inevitably though, it has been a losing battle, with defeat hastened by the Nixon Administration's de facto re-junction of self-government for the District and the return of the city from a few moments of expanded local prerogative to grim subservience to each whim of Congress and the executive branch.

Just as the Soviets found the liberalization of the colonial status of the Hungarians and the Czechs intolerable, so Congress and the Nixon Administration found the liberalization of this city's colonial status a threat to be repressed.

The results were infinitely gentler than those experienced by the Eastern Europeans. But while the style was vastly different, the dynamics showed some interesting parallels. The basic difficulty in liberalizing a colony is that it is a little like a mother telling her daughter it is all right to go to bed with boys but she shouldn't have sex with them. Once the feeling starts coming on, there isn't much one can do about it. Puritan mothers and political dictators have tried to deal with this situation by not letting the feeling get going or, if it does, trying to make sure that it doesn't happen again.

The Johnson Administration loosed the reigns of the federal government on the District and the feeling of freedom here got going. Walter Washington strutted around like he really was a mayor, the City Council pretended it was elected and the man in the White House looked benignly upon the play he had created.

Congress, never really happy with Johnson's reorganization plan, grumbled but perhaps not as much as if the new District Administration had not so assiduously attempted to prove to the congressmen that nothing really had changed.

Walter Washington made a few mistakes from the congressional point of view, but not many. He did appoint a man of intelligence and independent character to be public safety director, men did not appreciate such qualities, and he has not made the same mistake again in his high level appointments. If Commissioner Washington had been unburdened by a City Council, the city government's relationship with the Congress would have quickly settled into a warm and tranquil one, with the city being Congress's home away from home, and Walter Washington the trusted family retainer.

The Council, at least some of it, had other ideas. A working minority of its members took seriously the President's mandate to act as though they had been elected. Polly Shackleton, Stan Anderson and Joe Yeldell were

particularly diligent in this regard and with their help the Council began gaining that gossamer quality necessary for urban survival these days--credibility.

But the fact remained that they had not been elected and the assumption upon which they chose to operate was unacceptable to the Commissioner and to Congress. Neither was it ultimately satisfactory to the people of the District. It was at times a permissible temporary substitute, but citizen tolerance of the Council depended entirely upon the Council's ability to discern and act upon the public's desire.

The crunch had to come sometime. The pressures were increasing all the time. And the Council reacted with increasing ambivalence. It wanted to be the people's friend but it was increasingly afraid to vote the way the people wanted. When the Council was pressured to take a stand on the ABM issue it became petrified. Chairman Gilbert Hahn sat with a frozen silent smile on his face as citizens bombarded him with questions he feared to answer. The other Councilmen were similarly quiet, for there was nothing to say. They were doing wrong and they knew it.

As the city's political leadership pressed the council to fish or cut bait, it became more sullen. It withdrew into Chairman Hahn's private chambers to pass on matters that were public business. Secret meetings, improper by any normal definition of fairness, became the order of the day. And when the Council was forced out into the open on a major issue, it brought the police with them. One could gauge the extent of the Council's feeling of uneasiness by the number of cops parked away in various rooms and corridors of the District Building. Even without an agenda, one could walk into the Council office and judge, by the presence of helmeted officers lounging in chairs that a democratic legislature would reserve for citizens petitioning

NEWS Notes welcomes articles and correspondence from readers. Please send to News Notes, c/o Capitol East Gazette, 109 8th St., N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002. Manuscripts not accompanied by a stamped, return addressed envelope will not be returned. At this time we are unable to pay for contributions.

THE LOSER

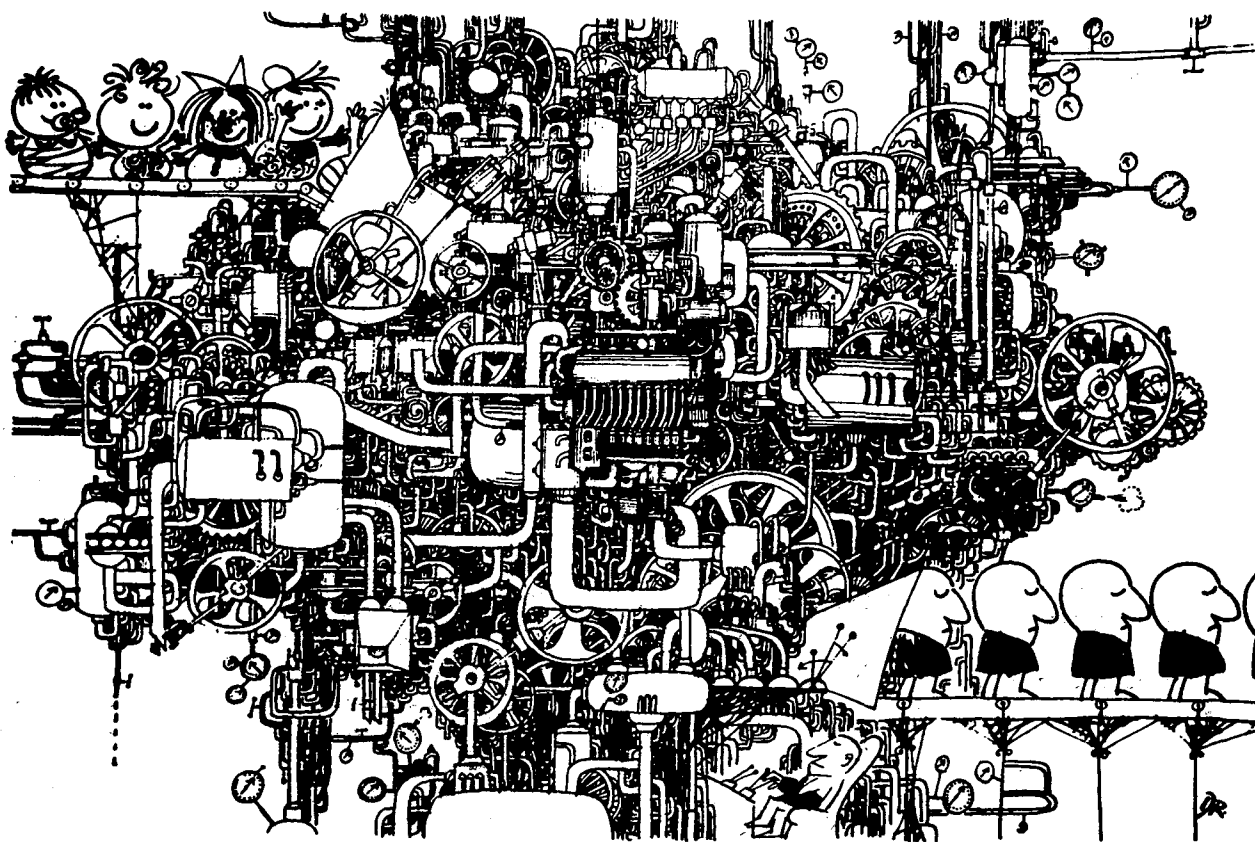
THE Councilman hurt most by the vote on the freeway issue was Joe Yeldell. Yeldell had gained considerable support as the result of his stands on various issues and the seriousness and honesty with which he went about his work. The Nixon Administration wanted his vote on the freeway matter because it needed the support of a creditable black to take some of the edge off the unpleasant decision. Yeldell wavered and finally capitulated, which hurts his political future in the city.

Symbolic of the reaction to his vote is the fact that his picture is included with that of Walter Washington and Sterling Tucker on large posters plastered in the black communities blasting them as the three "Uncle Tom Stooges" on the freeway question. Yeldell traditionally has kept better company but he blew this one badly and will pay dearly for it.

their representatives, that on that day the Council was going to vote the wrong way.

And if one still had doubts, the presence of Charlie Duncan walking side by side down the hall with Deputy Chief Owen Davis, followed shortly by Lt. Col. Sam Starobin with a bull horn seeking some one to bark at, over-stuffed GSA guards trying to look like real policemen in the face of all this brass, assorted captains, lieutenants, detectives, and concerned functionaries, milling aimlessly about--these would be definitive signs that the Council was about to say no to the people.

In such a climate it was small wonder that the City Council was so ill-prepared to stand with the people on the freeway issue. Already afraid of the people, now it was afraid of Congress as well. And as Congress moved its political tanks into the city in the form of threats against the subway, the city's taxing authority, indeed its whole budget, the Council weighed its fear and found it feared Congress more. The true political leadership of the city came to make one last plea, but the Council's moral disintegration was complete and it voted for surrender to Congress surrounded by the police who formed a barrier not just between the Council and the people but between



--LNS

But whatever violence occurred in the Council chamber on August 9 was but a shadow of the violence already done by the Congress and the President, a Council that ran out on the people and a press that couldn't recognize the essence of non-democracy in the system under which we are forced to live in this city.

For answer, see bottom of column 4.

CITIZENS can testify before the

(To list your citywide or community meeting, send a brief notice to News Notes, 109 8th NE, Washington DC 20002 or call 543-5850. If a community meeting, please indicate the neighborhoods involved.)

Men are not free who are sent to die.
Only those who send them are "free."
--Kenneth Patchen



Is this science fiction? The authors claim that "engineers generally agree that... the personal transit and personal capsule systems are already within the realm of feasibility. There are problems of safety and reliability to be solved, and decisions have to be made as to the best methods for propulsion, suspension and control. There is little doubt, however, that a system based on the innovations here described could be operating within a few years."

Criticising automobiles, buses, sub-

If the study is pointing in the right direction, then both the proponents of subways and of freeways are going down blind alleys. For all the discussion of DC's transportation problems we may not even have begun to talk about the sort of system we really need to solve our problems.

When three of the most progressive and outspoken black men in the city put themselves on the line, it's time for the jiving to stop and the votes to start. Community organizations ought

Adolph Hitler in 1932.

to start signing up voters right now (there's only about a month left to do it) and figuring out how they're going to get voters to the polls.

Otherwise, we can expect a repetition of what happened last year: A disproportionately large influence in the city-wide races by the heavily-voting and predominantly white Ward 3; a disproportionate influence in black wards by the conservative middle class; and, in the end, a bad School Board. Further a defeat of men like Hobson, Cassell and Booker will not only hurt the School Board, it will affect the freeway fight and other similar issues.

Here's a quick look at the specific races:

AT LARGE: About a dozen persons have taken out petitions in the at-large race, most of them unknowns. Best bets are Charles Cassell and Bardyl Tirana, who have gained the endorsement of both the Democratic Central Committee and the Triple-E Committee for the two vacant seats. Cassell will have difficulties in Ward 3 but Tirana, who is white, liberal and well-financed, should have little trouble pulling votes out of this ward where he ran a respectable race against Albert Rosenfield last year. Tirana has hitched his wagon to Cassell and Hobson and this should help in the rest of the city.

WARD 2: Julius Hobson decided not to run at-large again. Several factors probably motivated this. A citywide race is harder to organize; fellow militant Cassell would probably not have run if Hobson had chosen to try again for an at-large seat; and Hobson's controversial stands over the past year

Now he plans to run in his own polyglot ward with the outlook good if his supporters really push.

WARD 3: After an extensive and ultimately futile effort to find an attractive, vigorous, liberal candidate to run against ineffectual and conservative incumbent Rosenfield, progressives in the ward found themselves stuck with Susan Lieberman. Miss Lieberman ran poorly against Rosenfield last year, and unless she catches fire, the outlook in the ward is not bright.

WARD 8: Freeway fighter Reginald Booker is the man to work for in this ward and he'll need every bit of help he can get. The situation there is still pretty fluid, but there are several more conservative candidates who may run strongly in a race with Booker.

So far the Democrats have endorsed Miss Lieberman, Cassell, Tirana, and Hobson but hasn't made up its mind a-

bout Ward 8. The Triple-E Committee --headed by Chuck Stone -- has lined up behind Cassell, Tirana, Hobson and Booker and is keeping hands off Ward 3.

We're involved in both groups, but feel the Triple-E is more on the mark. If readers wish to support the most progressive candidates in the race, we suggest they send contributions to the Triple-E Committee, c/o Joseph McLaughlin, 5355 32nd St. NW.

FREEWAYS (from page 1)

stitute a massive assault on the center of black Washington. It will be interesting to observe the reaction of affected residents to this scheme.

Persons and groups interested in supporting the legal fight against the Three Sisters Bridge should get in contact with the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis (Brookland P. O. Box 4529, Washington 20017.) The Committee meets Thursdays at 8 p. m. at the Brookland Methodist Church, 14th & Lawrence N. E.

NOTES

THE Eastern High School Freedom Annex, 907 Md. Ave. NE, is looking for competent teachers qualified in the following fields: third world studies, contemporary problems, community organization, black history, black literature, traditional language, economics, black art and drama, comparative religions, music of black people. Interested persons should call 543-2750.

A NEW film is available from either the William Penn House (543-5530) or the Washington Peace Center (234-2000) of George Wald's speech before Business Executives Move for Peace in Vietnam which is directed at the military-industrial complex with special emphasis on opposing the ABM. The 16mm film runs for 30 minutes.

WITH the departure of Ruth Bates Harris, the District is looking for a new director of the DC human relations committee. Community organizations

NEXT DEADLINE:

SEPTEMBER 19

and individuals with ideas on the subject should submit recommendations promptly to Commissioner Washington and the District personnel office. Washington says he plans to make up his mind by Oct. 1.



WE gather from press reports that the main attribute of Supreme Court nominee Clement F. Haynesworth is that he's not as bad as another judge Strom Thurmond wanted appointed. This doesn't seem very reassuring, but we'll wait to see whether Haynesworth also turns out to be a strict 'constructionist' of the Constitution, which according to the Nixon definition, means he believes in the Constitution with the exception of the Bill of Rights.

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ORGANIZATIONS

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WASHINGTON already suffers from more air pollution from automobiles than any city in the U. S. And federal officials expect the carbon monoxide level in this area to double by 1985. President Nixon hopes to spur industry to produce a low-pollution vehicle by the 1990's. Everyone knows they could do it quicker than that, but better to let a few people die than to hurt the profits of the big three auto makers. We look forward to the 1995 presidential dedication of the clean auto. The president pulls off his gas mask long enough to call Detroit and say: "This (gasp) is the most (cough) historic telephone call since..."

A PULITZER prize ought to go to the Post reporter who sent in this story: "At Chesapeake Bay bridge, usually another major bottleneck at summer holiday time and also on weekends, heavy traffic was pushed along slowly but steadily by twice converting the two-lane bridge into a one-way tunnel for eastbound vehicles."

SEN. Tydings has scheduled hearings on Sept. 11, 18 and 25 on some of the less ominous aspects of the President's DC crime package. The Post calls them "noncontroversial" -- and perhaps to the Post they are -- but we find a measure restricting the civil liberties of mental patients pretty controversial. That's one of the issues that will be before the Senate District Committee. The most repressive aspects -- such as the preventive detention proposal -- will be taken up later.



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